

Humanities West Presents

TOWERING VISIONS
JERUSALEM
THROUGH THE AGES



*Damascus Gate in the
Early 19th Century*

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MAY 31 AND JUNE 1, 1997 HERBST THEATRE, SAN FRANCISCO



HUMANITIES WEST
211 Sutter Street, Suite 601
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415/391-9700

SATURDAY MAY 31, 10:00 AM – 4:00 PM

MODERATOR: **THOMAS IDINOPULOS**, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Prof. Idinopulos is the author of *Jerusalem Blessed, Jerusalem Cursed: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy City from David's Time to our Own*

10:00 AM Lecture **SPACE AND HISTORY IN JERUSALEM**

OLEG GRABAR, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

A renowned scholar of Islamic art and architecture explores the physical shape of the city as it was known around 1800. Professor Grabar, the author of *The Shape of the Holy* and *The Dome of the Rock*, shows how Jerusalem is the product of a long series of events affecting the same hills (Zion, Golgotha, Moriah and Olives) but with different impacts.

11:10 AM Lecture **JERUSALEM: THE CONTESTED INHERITANCE**

F. E. PETERS, New York University

The sacredness with which the world's three great monotheistic religions hold Jerusalem is based not only on ideology but on the notion of sacred space. The ideology of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities has large areas of overlap: all three are in a sense "biblical" religions and so share biblical traditions. This shared tradition opens the possibility of discourse among the three, but when those traditions are converted into spatial terms, when ideas are translated into real estate, discourse has often yielded to conflict. Prof. Peters addresses the crucial issue of the place of Jerusalem in the piety—and the pious practices—of Jews, Christians and Muslims and how each group laid claim to, and defended, its own particular holy places.

Break for Lunch: 12:00 PM – 1:30 PM

1:30 PM Musical performance **GEORGES LAMMAM**, violin and vocalist; **TONY LAMMAM**, percussionist; **LAURIE EISLER**, tambourine and zither; **ERENA GORDON**, *riqq* (Egyptian tambourine).

Sami Bayti Early 20th century Egyptian classical.

Fakkaruni (They reminded me.) 1966 instrumental introduction to a song by legendary Umm Kalthoum of Egypt. Composer: Mohammad Abd'al-Wahhab.

Zikryaati (My memories of the past.) 1933 Egyptian instrumental piece. Composer: Lute player Mohammad Al-Gasabji.

2:00 PM Lecture **THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JERUSALEM THROUGH THE AGES**

WILLIAM G. DEVER, University of Arizona

Jerusalem has been continuously occupied since about 2,000 B.C., with both a sacred and a secular history that are unique in human experience. Yet because of its continuous occupation, and its character not merely as a "museum" but a living city, Jerusalem has presented archaeologists with few opportunities for a large-scale archaeological exposure. Our knowledge of Jerusalem's successive archaeological layers and multi-cultural remains must be laboriously pieced together from dozens of small soundings and salvage operations, plus a few more substantial excavation projects carried out by Israeli archaeologists since 1967. Professor Dever summarizes and illustrates what we now know archaeologically of Jerusalem's history, concentrating primarily on the Canaanite Bronze Age; the Iron Age or Israelite period; the Greco-Roman era; Jerusalem in the period of Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity; the Byzantine period; and the Muslim and Crusader periods.

3:00 PM Lecture **THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR JERUSALEM**

WILLIAM B. QUANDT, University of Virginia

Following the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, one of the most hotly contested issues between Israel and its Arab neighbors has been the status of Jerusalem. Since 1967, Israel has exercised sole control over the city and has declared it to be its national capital; but the Oslo agreements signed in September, 1993, also envisage that the status of Jerusalem will figure in negotiations on a final agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. Dr. Quandt, who as a member of the U.S. National Security Council was a negotiator involved in the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty, examines the vital positions of various parties and discusses possible ways of accommodating competing claims.

SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1997, 1:00 PM – 4:00 PM

1:00 PM *Lecture* **CITY OF DREAMERS: THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF JERUSALEM FROM 1800 TO 1948**

RICHARD HECHT, U.C. Santa Barbara

This presentation explores the evolution of Jerusalem from a small provincial city of the Ottoman Empire into the central core of religious and national conflict. Religious, national, and political dreamers all had visions for Jerusalem, often in conflict with one another. Fired by Messianic speculations, Eastern European Jews began to arrive in Palestine in the first decades of the 19th century and successfully reached for power among the traditional Jewish community of the city, building in preparation for the beginning of the days of the Messiah.

As a result of political struggles within the Ottoman Empire, the European nation-states successfully advanced their positions in the city. In the 1920s it became a bastion for Zionists who rejected agrarian socialism in favor of the development of Jewish industry and capital. Likewise, Jerusalem became the center stage for the formation of Palestinian nationalism. Dr. Hecht, whose scholarship in religious studies has won him wide acclaim, uses slides to take us through Jerusalem from the early 19th century to 1948.

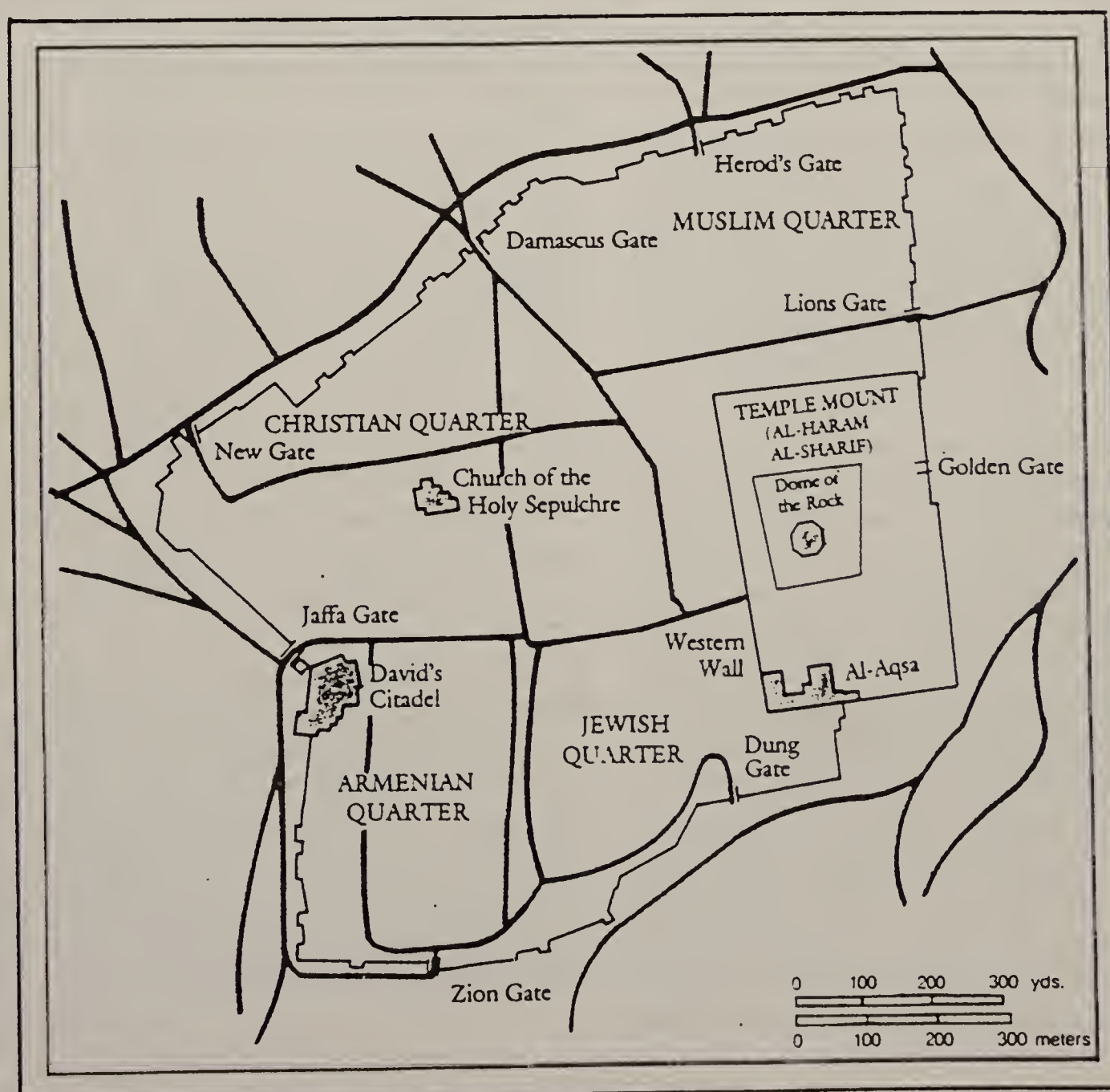
1:45 PM *Lecture* **ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM**
OLEG GRABAR, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton

Concentrating on the Muslim buildings of the city with striking photographs and models recreating the historic buildings, Professor Grabar reveals the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa Mosque, the Mamluk schools, among others, and shows how Roman and Early Christian presence was also expressed visually in objects as well as in buildings.

2:30 PM *Closing Commentary* **THOMAS IDINOPULOS**, moderator

3:10 pm *Musical performance and readings* **JERUSALEM OF EARTH AND SKY**
ROSLYN BARAK, Cantor, Temple Emanu-El; **DANIEL C. MATT**, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley; accompanied by **ARKADY SERPER**, pianist

Readings and music in a reflective mood, presenting the rabbinic, mystical, and folkloric views of—and feelings about—the City of David. Professor Matt's readings and Cantor Barak's exceptionally beautiful voice weave the material together in an especially affectionate and deeply spiritual tribute to this beloved and eternally holy city.



SPEAKER, MODERATOR, and PERFORMER BIOGRAPHIES

CANTOR ROSLYN BARAK was born and raised in New York City and attended the High School of Music and Art and the Manhattan School of Music, where she earned a B.A. in vocal performance. She debuted at Carnegie Hall with the Youth Symphony Orchestra of New York after winning their competition for soprano soloist. Her other awards include Katherine Long scholarship of the Metropolitan Opera Studio. She appeared with local New York opera companies, the Santa Fe Opera Company and, for three years, with the Israel National Opera. She received a Master of Sacred Music Degree from the Hebrew Union College School of Sacred Music. Since 1987 she has served as Cantor of the Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco.

WILLIAM G. DEVER is Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Arizona. He received his B.A. from Milligan College, M.A. from Butler University, B.D. from Christian Theological Seminary and Ph.D. in Syro-Palestinian Archaeology with a Minor in Hebrew Bible and History of Israel from Harvard University. In 1990-91 he gave ten lectures nationwide as a Norton Lecturer with the Archaeological Institute of America. He serves on the editorial boards of the *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Archaeology*.

LAURIE EISLER specializes in the classical styles of the *riqq* (tambourine) and the *qanun* (plucked zither). She has recorded a CD, *Zakharafa*, with the group, Hilm. Laurie has taught at the Mendocino Middle Eastern Music and Dance Workshops and at the U.C. Berkeley Ethnomusicology Department since 1989.

ERENA GORDON has studied music and dance of the Middle East for many years. Born in France of Russian-Jewish parents, she has lived all over the world. Her classical education includes the Music and Dance Academy in Caracas where she studied for six years prior to coming to San Francisco 35 years ago. She plays the *riqq*, (an Egyptian tambourine) and has been performing in Middle Eastern musical presentations since 1979.

OLEG GRABAR was born in Strasbourg, France, and was educated in Paris, Harvard and Princeton, where he received a Ph.D. He has taught at the University of Michigan and at Harvard where he was the first Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Art. The author of numerous books, including *The Shape of the Holy*, he is now Professor at the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. He has worked and excavated in almost all Middle Eastern countries, and served on the Steering Committee of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture.

RICHARD D. HECHT is Professor and Chair of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author with Roger Friedland of *To Rule Jerusalem*, a decade-long ethnography of the city's religion and politics. Their second Book, *Jerusalem: The Profane Politics of a Sacred Place*, to be published in 1998, examines the interplay between sacrality and sovereignty in the city from the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. to the present. Professor Hecht is the recipient of the Santa Barbara Division of the Academic Senate's Distinguished Teaching Award in the Humanities (1995).

THOMAS IDINOPULOS is Professor of Religious Studies at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. He is consulting editor to the Middle East Review. His published books include *Jerusalem Blessed, Jerusalem Cursed: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy City from David's Time to our Own*. In 1975 and 1977, Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem invited him to be a guest scholar at the culture center

of the Jerusalem Foundation, and in 1981, H.R.H. Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan invited him to confer with scholars and political leaders on the future of Jerusalem. He recently completed a new book: *Land Weathered By Miracles: Historic Palestine from Bonaparte to Ben-Gurion and the Mufti* and has written the article on Jerusalem for the new Colliers Encyclopaedia. In addition, Professor Idinopulos recently completed a study, *The Role of Jerusalem's Holy Places in the Current Peace Process*, for the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

GEORGES LAMMAM, a solo violinist and vocalist, excels in improvisation and lyricism. His repertoire spans a wide range of Arabic music, from classical to contemporary popular songs. Born in Beirut, Lebanon, Mr. Lammam studied music in both Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates. His recordings include *Al Azifan*, *Valley of the Kings*, *Melodic Musings*, *Studies for Arabic Music*, *Meditations from the Holy Land* and *Souk al Amir*. He has taught Arabic singing and music for ensemble at the Mendocino Middle Eastern Music and Dance Workshop and the U.C. Berkeley Ethnomusicology Department.

TONY LAMMAM, born in Beirut, Lebanon, studied tambourine with Michele Buklukh, a well-known Lebanese percussionist playing with Fairouz. Noted for his knowledge of classical rhythm patterns, he has mastered *tabla* creating a style that is powerful and imaginative, yet impeccably precise. Mr. Lammam taught Arabic drumming at U.C. Berkeley in 1996. He recently completed a book of romantic poetry, *Confessions from Rain*, which was published in March, 1997.

DANIEL C. MATT is a professor in the Center for Jewish Studies, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley. He received his Ph.D. from Brandeis University and has taught at Stanford University and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. His five published books in the field of Jewish spirituality include *Zohar: The Book of Enlightenment*, *The Essential Kabbalah: The Heart of Jewish Mysticism*, and *God and the Big Bang: Discovering Harmony Between Science and Spirituality*.

F. E. PETERS received his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies at Princeton University and is currently Professor of History and Near Eastern Languages and Literatures at New York University. In addition to his principal work on the city (*Jerusalem*, 1985), he has contributed the article "Jerusalem" to the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* and has studied Jerusalem both from a Muslim perspective (*The Distant Shrine* 1993) and in a comparative context with Mecca (*Jerusalem and Mecca. The Typology of the Holy City in the Near East* 1986). His most recent works have been *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam* (1994) and histories of both Mecca (1994) and the Muslim pilgrimage (*The Hajj*, 1994). He is presently working on *The Quest. The Historians' Search for Jesus and Muhammad*.

WILLIAM B. QUANDT is Harry F. Byrd Jr., Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia. From 1979 to 1994, he was a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. His many publications include: *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, *Camp David: Peacemaking and Politics*, and *Saudi Arabia in the 1980s: Foreign Policy, Security, and Oil*. An expert on the Middle East, American policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, and energy policy, Dr. Quandt served as staff member of the National Security Council (1972-1974, 1977-1979). He was actively involved in the negotiations that led to the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty.

JERUSALEM IN TIME

Compiled by **THOMAS IDINOPULOS**

B.C.E.

- 1000 The Judean tribal chief David seizes the Canaanite mountain stronghold of Jebus and makes it the capital of his united Israelite monarchy.
- 931 The united monarchy breaks up after Solomon's death; Jerusalem remains the capital of Judah, the southern kingdom.
- 722 The Assyrians conquer Israel, the northern kingdom.
- 622 The ritual reform is carried out by King Josiah in Jerusalem's Temple.
- 612 Nineveh falls and the Assyrian empire collapses at the hands of Babylonia.
- 586 The Babylonians destroy Jerusalem and the Temple; Judeans are exiled to Mesopotamia.
- 539 Persian King Cyrus overwhelms Babylonia, captures Judah, and invites Jews to return to the homeland.
- 539-333 Duration of the Persian empire in western Asia.
- 520-516 Jerusalem's Temple is rebuilt, inaugurating the period of the Second Temple.
- 445 Nehemiah arrives as the Persian-appointed governor of the restored Judean community.
- 397 Religious reforms are initiated by the Torah scholar Ezra.
- 333 Alexander the Great defeats Darius III of Persia at the Battle of Issus, commencing the spread of Greek language and culture in western Asia and the Middle East.
- 312 Beginning of the domination of Palestine by the Ptolemies of Egypt.
- 198 The Battle of Paneas and the beginning of the domination of Palestine by the Seleucids of Syria until 128 B.C.E.
- 168 Jerusalem's Temple is desecrated by Greek King Antiochus IV Epiphanos, precipitating armed Jewish rebellion.
- 164 Jerusalem's Temple is rededicated following the victory of the Maccabees over Greek forces in Palestine.
- 63 The Romans, under General (later Caesar) Pompey, invade Palestine.
- 7-3 Presumed period of Jesus' birth.

C.E.

- 20 B.C.E.-64 C.E. Jerusalem's Temple is reconstructed and enlarged under the patronage of King Herod.
- 63 B.C.E.-636 C.E. The Romans, later the Byzantines, dominate the ancient Near East.
- 66-70 First Jewish rebellion against Rome.
- 70 The Romans capture Jerusalem and destroy the Jewish Temple.
- 132-135 Bar Kochba leads the second Jewish rebellion against Rome.
- 135 A new Roman-designed city of Jerusalem, called *Aelia Capitolina*, is built.
- 332-335 Constantine orders the construction of the Church of Anastasis (Resurrection) over Golgatha and Jesus' Tomb.
- 614 Jerusalem and the Anastasis Church are destroyed during the Persian invasion of Palestine.
- 630 Byzantine rule is restored in Palestine.
- 632 Death of Muhammad.
- 636-1099 Muslims dominate Palestine.
- 638 Jerusalem is conquered by Arab forces.
- 661-750 Jerusalem comes under the influence of the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus.

- 683-692 The caliphate of Abd al-Malik, builder of the Dome of the Rock.
- 705-715 The caliphate of al-Walid, builder of the Mosque of al-Aksa.
- 750 Beginning of Abbasid rule over Jerusalem.
- 963-976 Byzantine Christians try but fail to reconquer Palestine from the Muslims.
- 1037 The Church of Anastasis is rebuilt after its destruction under orders from the Fatimid Egyptian caliph al-Hakim.
- 1099 Jerusalem is conquered by Franks in the first Crusade.
- 1099-1187 Jerusalem becomes the capital of the Latin Kingdom in the Holy Land.
- 1187 Latin Crusader rule is brought to an end by the Muslim invasion of Palestine under Saladin.
- 1260 The Mamluk sultan Qutuz defeats the Tartars of Hulagu at Ain Jalut.
- 1261-1520 The Mamluk dynasty of Egypt.
- 1517 The Turks defeat the Mamluks.
- 1517-1917 Turkish period of rule in Palestine.
- 1831-1840 Egypt dominates Syria and Palestine under Muhammad Ali and Ibrahim Pasha. Beginning of European political penetration of Palestine and the Middle East; increase in Jewish immigration.
- 1880-1890 Refugees leaving pogroms in Russia and Rumania begin to arrive in Palestine.
- 1916 The Sykes-Picot Agreement divides Middle Eastern territories between France and Great Britain.
- 1917 The Balfour Declaration is followed by Allenby's victory at Gaza and the British takeover of Jerusalem.
- 1918-1948 Palestine is governed by Great Britain under a League of Nations mandate.
- 1920- Muslim-Jewish confrontation over worship at Jerusalem's Western Wall initiates hostilities between the two peoples.
- 1936-1939 Great Arab revolt in Palestine is led by Jerusalem's grand mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini.
- 1937 The Peel Commission report recommends the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states.
- 1939 A British government White Paper limits Jewish immigration.
- 1947 Arab and Zionist forces meet in violent competition over control of Palestine and Jerusalem, with terrorism on both sides. A United Nations resolution proposes a partition of the country with Jerusalem and Bethlehem as international zones.
- 1948 Israel declares its national independence, followed by the outbreak of the first Arab-Israeli war.
- 1948-1967 Period of a divided Jerusalem, in which west Jerusalem serves as Israel's capital while east Jerusalem and the old city are under the control of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.
- 1967 Six Days War leads to the reunification of Jerusalem under Israeli sovereignty. A united Jerusalem is declared to be Israel's "eternal capital."
- 1977 Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty fails to address the question of Arab-populated Jerusalem.
- 1987- Outbreak of the Palestinian uprising (intifada) in Gaza, West Bank, and east Jerusalem.
- 1990 Arab Palestinians and Israelis intensify violent action against each other in Jerusalem and throughout the entire country.

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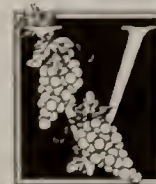


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FUTURE PROGRAMS OF HUMANITIES WEST

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VISIONS OF PARADISE: The Genius Of The Mughal Court

October 17 and 18, 1997

From a heritage which began in the ancient Near East in Ur and Nineveh, the Mughal rule of India saw the finest flowering of an ancient vision of paradise on earth. A succession of remarkable rulers beginning with Babur in 1526 continued to 1857. Mughal India can be considered a crucible of civilization: where Islamic spirit, against a backdrop of Hindu culture, produced art, architecture, music and writing of unparalleled beauty.

This series explores the arts of the Mughal court and how political and religious forces were able to create a vision of earthly splendor which has endured the centuries.

DARWIN'S MENAGERIE:

Victorians, Sociobiologists and Other

Endangered Species March 6 and 7, 1998

Darwin's theory of natural selection was of continuing influence not only on his Victorian contemporaries, especially the clergy, but on early 20th Century thinkers as well.

This program will explore Darwin's influence on William James' work on psychology and will continue with an examination of the synthesis of evolutionary theory and Mendelian genetics in the 1930s and 1940s, and how that synthesis fell apart in the late 1960s and 1970s. The program concludes with an examination of the Neo-Darwinists and the lively debate over the validity of sociobiological theories as an explanation for human behavior.

THE LURE OF CALIFORNIA: Artists, Gold Diggers and Visionaries May 8 and 9, 1998

The discovery of gold in California in 1848 produced a rush of immigration, which in turn created a boomtown culture in San Francisco. The newly wealthy city supported a colorful spectrum of performing artists, while photographers, illustrators, writers and artists advertised both the beauty of the western landscape and the exotic lure of the city. The history and mythology of the Gold Rush form the foundations of the enduring California Dream, that this is a land of unlimited opportunity, wealth and glamour.

This lecture/performance series will bring to life the people and culture that followed the Gold Rush, their social history, art, literature, music and performing arts. It will explore the California dream which has influenced immigrants, artists and entrepreneurs for 150 years.

SAN FRANCISCO WAR MEMORIAL AND PERFORMING ARTS CENTER HERBST THEATRE

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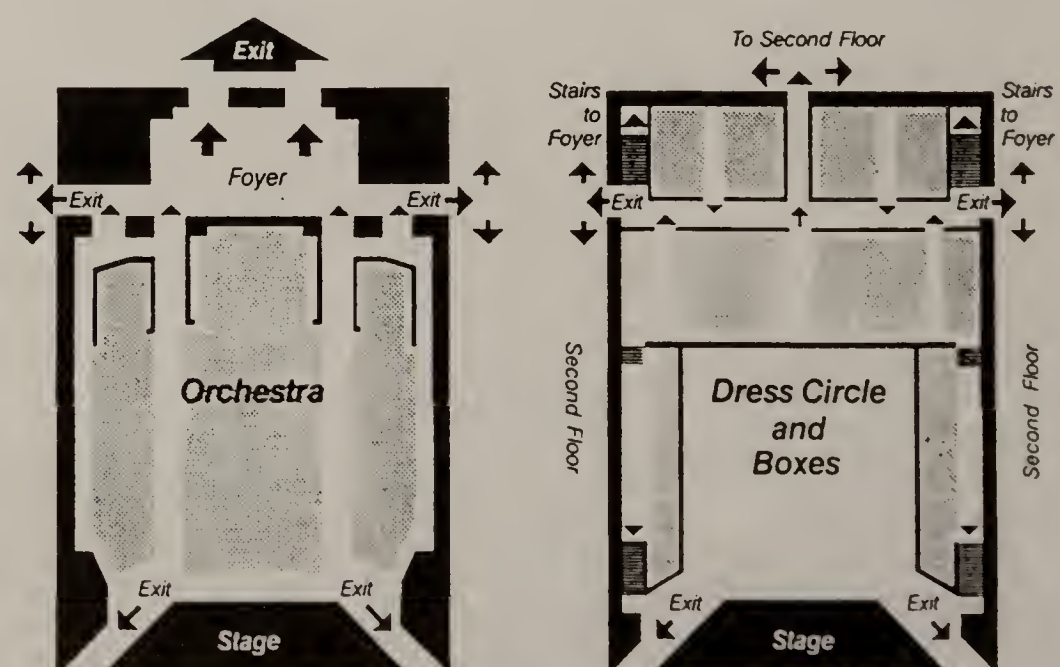
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A Sennheiser Listening System is installed at Herbst Theatre. Wireless headphones and induction devices (adaptable to hearing aids) are available in the main lobby of the theatre. There is no charge, but an ID deposit is required.



PATRONS, ATTENTION PLEASE! FIRE NOTICE:

THERE ARE SUFFICIENT EXITS IN THIS BUILDING TO ACCOMMODATE THE ENTIRE AUDIENCE. THE EXIT INDICATED BY THE LIGHTED "EXIT" SIGN NEAREST YOUR SEAT IS THE SHORTEST ROUTE TO THE STREET IN CASE OF FIRE PLEASE DO NOT RUN — WALK THROUGH THAT EXIT.

Humanities West News

APRIL/MAY

« exploring history to celebrate the mind and the arts »

1997

Towering Visions: Jerusalem Through the Ages

May 31 and June 1, 1997

Jerusalem—her radiance stirs the world. Incomparably, she sums up the deepest paradoxes in the human psyche. Her ancient walled city is a permanent metaphor of sanctuary and conflict, of tribalism and transcendence. Bitterly contested for well over three thousand years, no other space on earth has, in the words of Amos Elon, “evoked such awe and wonder or at the same time given her name to Peace and to all that is tender in the human soul.”

This program will peel away the layers of fact and belief agglomerating on the city's gritty stones since the dawn of recorded time. Profoundly significant for the histories of western and eastern civilizations alike, the presenters' illuminations of Jerusalem's tight passages and visionary spaces will also underline, for Americans, the crucial role of remembered history in older societies whose conflicts continue to impact us.



DAMASCUS GATE IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

Medieval Jerusalem

by OLEG GRABAR, Saturday and Sunday speaker

The usual way in which medieval Jerusalem is reconstructed and explained is both simple and logical. Leaving aside the imperial Roman paganism which ruled the city between 70 C.E. and the fourth century, three systems of religious beliefs and practices—Jewish, Christian and Muslim, each one with ethnic, social, economic, political, ideological, and linguistic variables—were present and active in the city during the medieval millennium. One of them always dominated, the Christian one from Constantine to the early seventh century and in most of the twelfth, the Muslim one the rest of the time.

It is easy to demonstrate that the monumental infrastructure of the city—the Holy Sepulcher and the Nea during the so-called Byzantine Christian rule, the Holy Sepulcher and a host of other churches, few of which

have remained, during Latin Christian times, the Haram al-Sharif and its immediate surroundings in Umayyad, Fatimid, or Mamluk guises, under Muslim rule—expressed religious and ideological values and ambitions characteristic of whatever system predominated. Significant Jewish monumental presence appears only in the nineteenth century, partly because Jews were not directly connected to political power since the second century and partly because post-Temple Judaism did not need or require monumental expression until the modern era.

Domination was rarely total in medieval times, except perhaps in the Late Antique Christian town, and as a result, it is reasonable and proper to posit, underneath the large constructions and shiny effects sponsored by princes, patriarchs, abbots, and civil or military governors, a daily life of multiple pieties

and ethnicities. How these different communities lived and operated is often difficult to imagine for the first half of the Middle ages, roughly before the Crusades, for the very interesting reason, which is still partly true of the Jerusalem of today, that the communities were (and are) closely connected to their coreligionists or compatriots elsewhere, but not to each other in Jerusalem itself. In most of the sources dealing with Jerusalem, other groups than one's own are hardly ever mentioned except for occasional complaints about some humiliation or levy imposed by whoever dominated.

Studies on Jerusalem in the Middle Ages have tended to concentrate on five neatly separated chronological segments—Late Antique or Byzantine, early Islamic, Latin, Ayyubid, Mamluk—or on the three ethno-religious commu-

Continued on page 2

FRIENDS' ACTIVITY

Special East Bay Treat

*Sunday afternoon in Berkeley
at the Judah Magnes Museum*

The Judah Magnes Museum only displays a fragment of the treasures Seymour Fromer, founder of the 35-year-old museum, has collected and preserved. Dr. Fromer himself will tell us how he began this unique collection of Judaica, and take us through the museum, which is converted from a beautiful old private home near the Claremont Hotel in Berkeley. We'll enjoy refreshments afterward in the museum's garden. Sunday, May 18, 1 pm. Space is limited: to reserve a place, call Humanities West at 415/391-9700.

See our Web Page on the Internet

Humanities West program information can now be found at:

<http://www.best.com/~fearless/humanitieswest.html>

Letter from the Executive Director

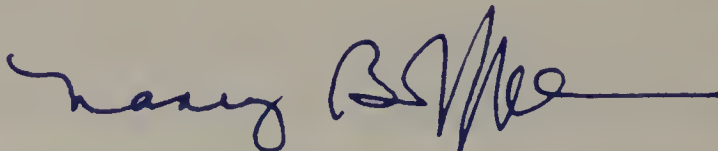
Once again Humanities West is planning for future programs. In 1997-98 three topics new to Humanities West promise to be intriguing and colorful: *Visions of Paradise: The Taj Mahal and Other Splendors of the Mughal Court*, *Darwin's Menagerie: Victorians, Sociobiologists and other Endangered Species*, and *The Lure of California: Artists, Gold Diggers and Visionaries*.

We now ask you to help us plan for Humanities West programs from fall 1998 through spring of 2000. Humanities West has been "exploring history to celebrate the mind and the arts" since 1983. There are many eras and places we have yet to visit, and others which may not have been explored in many years.

Please take a few moments to complete the program survey in this newsletter and mail it to us. Program topics listed were suggested by Humanities West audience members, Board members and Advisors. We appreciate your comments and write-in suggestions as well. The program ideas which attract you are the ones we want to pursue.

Towering Visions: Jerusalem Through The Ages will be held on Saturday May 31 and Sunday June 1. The array of speakers for this program is truly exceptional. Because the Speaker's Dinner will be held the day before the start of the program, Friday, May 30, Fellows, Patrons and Sponsors of Humanities West have the opportunity to share a relaxed meal at a new restaurant with the speakers.

I look forward to seeing all of you at Herbst Theatre at the end of May.



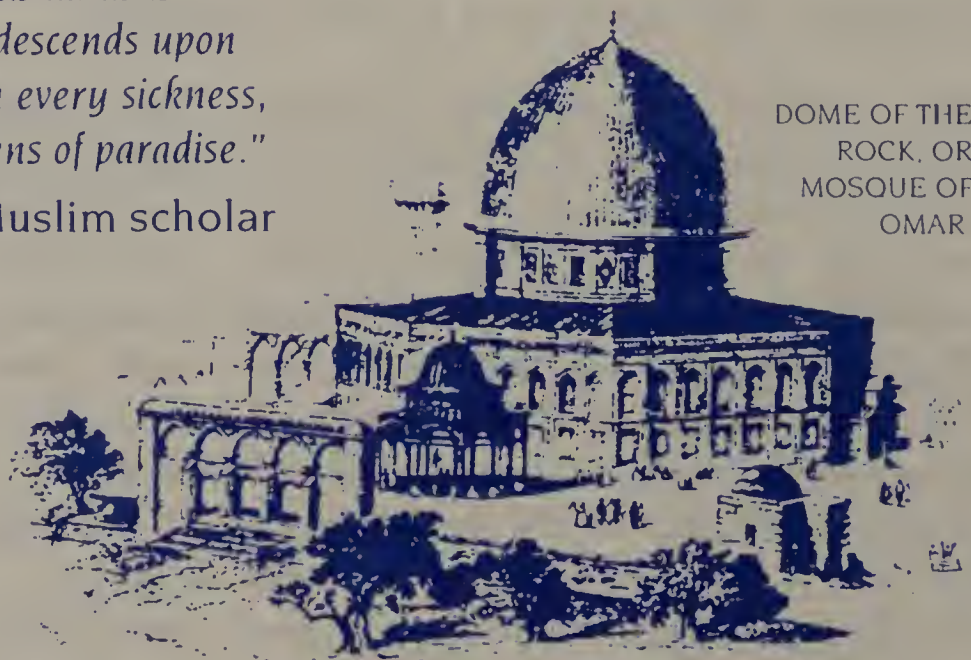
Nancy Buffum

Medieval Jerusalem

Continued from page 1

"The choice of Allah of all his lands is Jerusalem...the dew which descends upon Jerusalem is a remedy from every sickness, because it is from the gardens of paradise."

— 14th century Muslim scholar



DOMES OF THE
ROCK, OR
MOSQUE OF
OMAR

nities and their subdivisions. This is so largely because of the linguistic competencies required to handle these fifteen academic boxes: original sources on Jerusalem are in eight or nine languages and secondary literature in at least six additional ones. When one further adds the literary genres of written sources, matters become even more complicated. Inscriptions in Greek, Arabic, Syriac, or Armenian, Geniza fragments in Hebrew or Arabic written with Hebrew characters, travel books from many lands and endowed with varying degrees of imagination, court documents in Arabic, endless diplomas in Latin, grand chronicles from remote capitals like Cairo, Baghdad, Constantinople, Moscow, or Aachen, locally sponsored guide-books, pious eschatological meditations and proclamations, all require awareness of specialized issues and vocabularies and of many other

Continued on page 8

A Successful Taste

A very congenial Sunday afternoon was enjoyed by those who attended *A Taste of Humanities West* on February 2. A memorable performance by former ACT actor Peter Donat capped the well-received program, followed by a reception in the lobby of the theater which provides a view of the Golden Gate. Humanities West thanks all those who attended and responded to this special benefit effort.

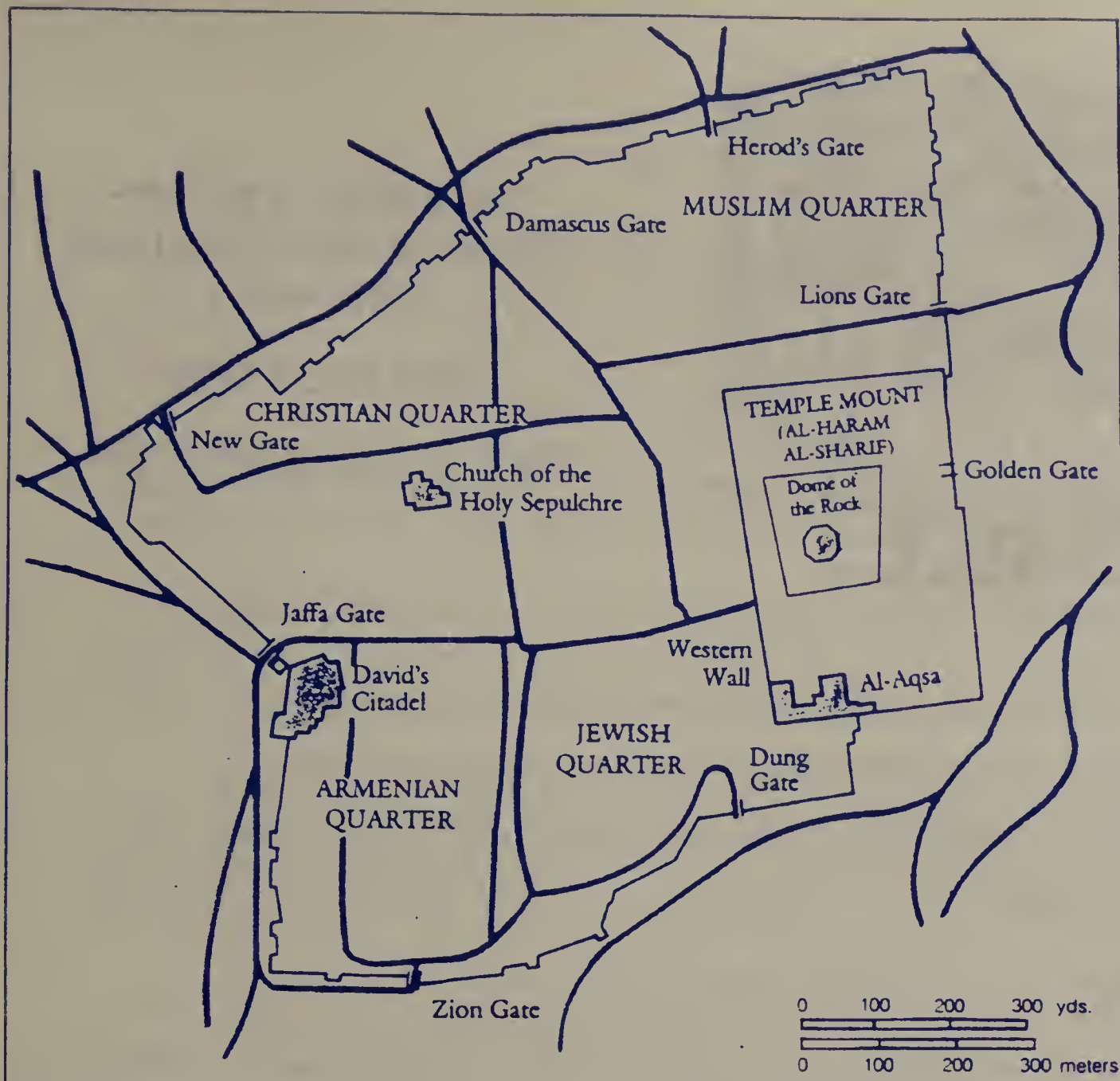
The Spread of Christian Pilgrimage

excerpted from *Jerusalem*, by
F. E. PETERS, Saturday speaker

Jerome, translator of the Old and New Testaments into Latin, was a redoubtable biblical scholar and a monastic resident of Palestine from A.D. 385 to his death in 420. His influence was spread through a variety of channels into the western parts of Christendom. His Bible commentaries added an assured and concrete note to the general knowledge of the Holy Land, its places, peoples, and customs, which he did not always view in a kindly light. Jerome, had, in fact, serious reservations about the growing practice of pilgrimage. The question of the spiritual value of such visits had been raised somewhat earlier by Gregory of Nyssa, who had been to Jerusalem and reported on the Holy City in his *Letter on Pilgrimages*:

If God's grace were more plentiful in the vicinity of Jerusalem than it is elsewhere, then the people who live there would not make sin so much their custom. But in fact there is no sort of shameful practices in which they do not indulge and cheating, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, quarrels, and murder are everyday occurrences...What proof is there, then, in a place where things like that occur, of the abundance of God's grace?

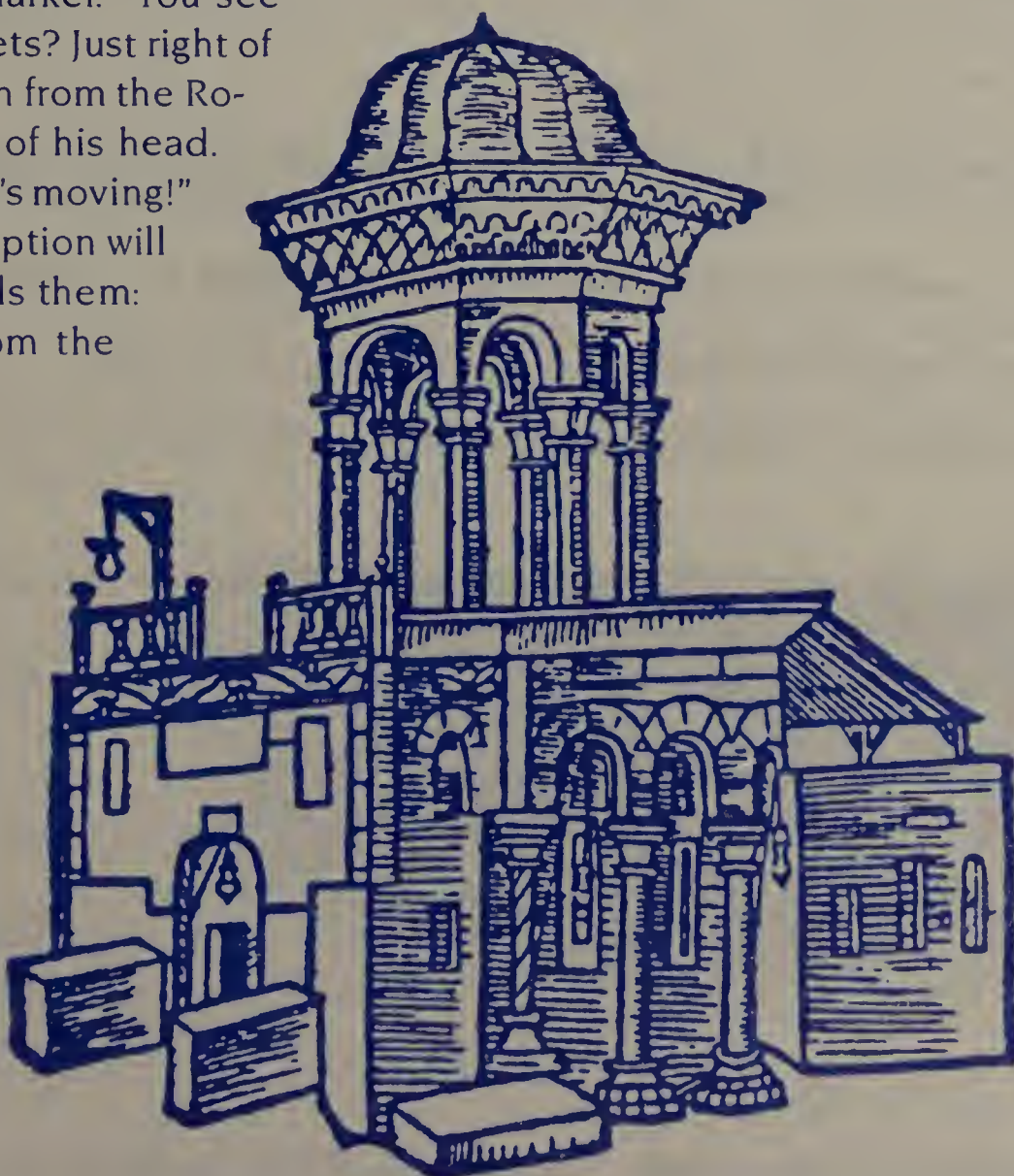
Jerome did not disagree with this late fourth century characterization of Jerusalem, and he warned one prospective pilgrim, Paulinus of Nola, that he should expect "a crowded city with the whole variety of people you find in such centers, prostitutes, actors and clowns..." But on balance he approved of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and in fact his letters on the subject must have persuaded others to follow in the footsteps of the blessed Paula, and even, like Jerome himself, to settle permanently in the Holy Land as monks. By the fifth century Christian ascetics, many of them from Egypt, were swiftly converting the Judean wilderness region stretching east and south of Jerusalem and Bethlehem into a new center of Christian monasticism.



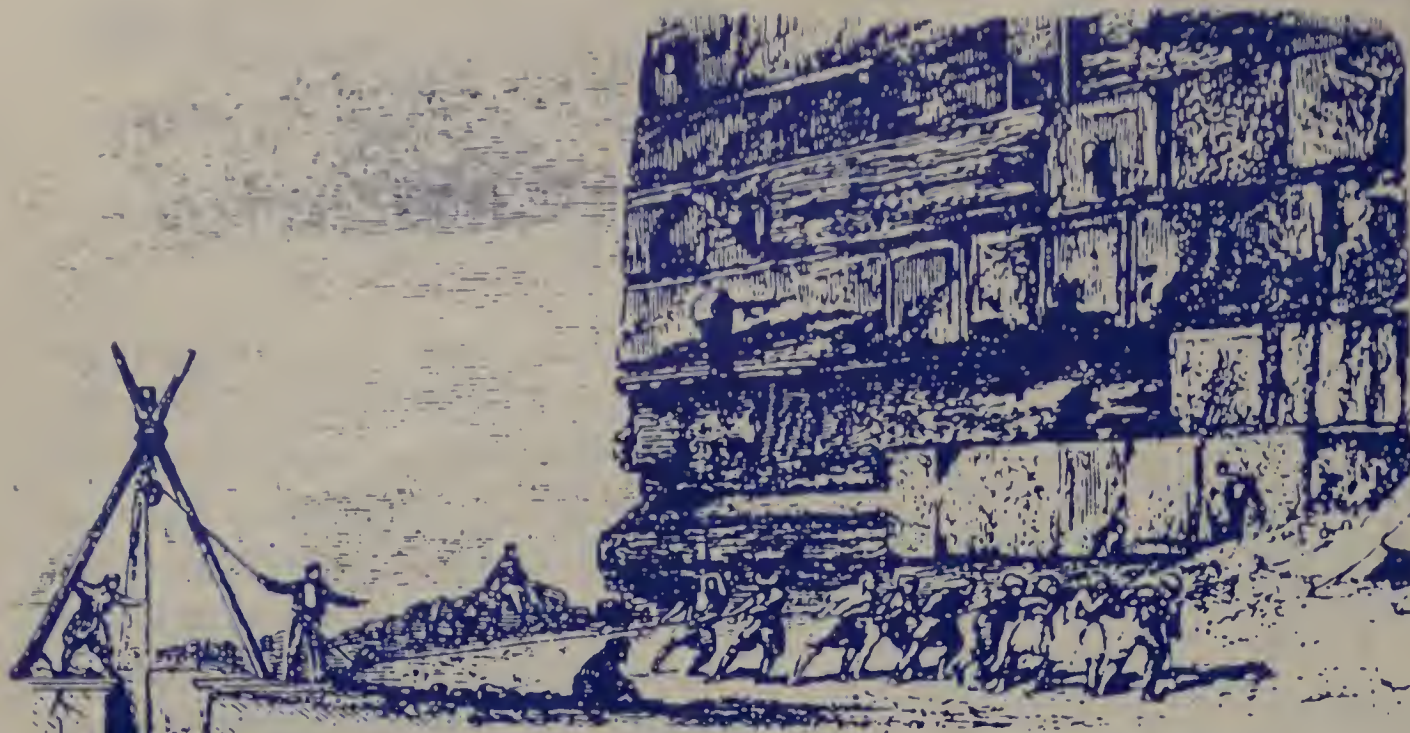
TOURISTS by YEHUDA AMICHAY

Once I sat on the steps by a gate at David's tower. I placed my two heavy baskets at my side. A group of tourists was standing around their guide and I became their target marker. "You see the man with the baskets? Just right of his head there's an arch from the Roman period. Just right of his head. But he is moving. . . He's moving!" I said to myself: redemption will come if their guide tells them: "You see that arch from the

Roman period? It's not important. But next to it, left and down a bit, there sits a man who's bought fruit and vegetables for his home."



EDICULE ENCLOSING JESUS' TOMB INSIDE THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER.
VON BREYDONBACK, 1483



TOWERING VISIONS: JERUSALEM THROUGH THE AGES

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EXCAVATIONS BELOW THE SOUTH-WEST
CORNER OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT (1867)

Note: Authors' names in **bold** are speakers at the program. Books are available or can be ordered from A Clean Well-Lighted Place for Books, Opera Plaza, 601 Van Ness, San Francisco.

**HUMANITIES WEST
FUTURE PROGRAM SURVEY 1997**

Humanities West is beginning the process of planning programs for the 1998-99 and 1999-2000 seasons. Many subjects under consideration have been suggested in previous audience surveys. We are very interested in learning from you which of these subjects would entice you to attend a program. We invite your review and comment.

Please indicate your three favorites and rank by order of preference, with number 1 as your first choice. If there are any you would definitely not attend, please mark with a "NO". If a subject not on this list interests you and lends itself to the multi-disciplinary format of our programs, please suggest it in the space for comments.

We are also interested in your preferences regarding days and hours for our programs. What day and time would you be most likely to attend a Humanities West program? *Please rank.*

Friday evening___ All day Saturday___ Saturday afternoon___ Sunday afternoon___

___ 1. **Images Of Gloriana: The Public and Private Lives of Elizabeth I**

___ A study of portraiture, patronage, and political influence in the first major court ruled by a woman. Queen Elizabeth and her relationships including Marlowe, Sir Walter Raleigh; fine and applied arts, drama, and literature under her reign.

___ 2. **Postcards from Paris: Expatriates in the City of Light**

___ Over the last two centuries, Paris has been a refuge for expatriates. They came in waves, most notably during the 20s and after World War II. Inspired and creative, Gertrude Stein, Picasso, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Baldwin, to name a few, permeated cafe and salon culture.

___ 3. **Berlin in the 20s: The Legacy of Weimar Culture**

___ Bertold Brecht, Kurt Weill and Thomas Mann; the Bauhaus; expressionist art; the first modern films; and the exuberant satire of Berlin's political cartoonist and uninhibited cabaret performers.

___ 4. **19th C. Russia: Five Composers Express the National Soul**

___ An illustrious group of nationalist composers known as the Five were a part of the spiritual awakening of Russia in the 1860s. The collective achievement of Balakirev, Mussorgsky, Rimsky Korsakov, Cui, and Borodin, remains, to this day, a basis of comparison for all Russian music and for nationalist art in every other country.

✓ ___ 5. **The Moors in Spain, Morocco and North Africa**

✓ ___ Greek and Arabic philosophy, science, and mathematics were transmitted to Europe by the Moors through North Africa and Spain. Islamic art and architecture, culminating in the Alhambra, and music evolving into flamenco, enriched Spain and set it apart from other European cultures.

___ 6. **Leonardo Da Vinci's Renaissance: Visions of Art, Science and Society**

___ Leonardo the scientist, the man and his machines; art and architecture, the Palazzo Vecchio; rival Michelangelo; friend Machievelli; music of Princely Florence; the codices of Leonardo.

___ 7. **Gardens of the Enlightenment: Wealth, Power and Prestige in the 18th and 19th Century**

___ Explore the stately gardens of Versailles, Isola Bella, La Granja, Chatsworth, the Japanese Imperial gardens and the Manchu Summer Palaces.

-OVER-

— **8. The Middle Kingdom: The Chinese Perspective of The World**

China is emerging from an insular culture which felt little need for outside contact, into a burgeoning world power. This program would explore how China's traditional culture informs its outlook and would explore the art, architecture, gardens and Confucian philosophy of this ancient world.

— **9. Lost Cultures of America: Mayan and Aztec Civilization**

Recovered art and artifacts of Maya and Aztec civilizations include temples, pyramids, glyphs, carvings; gold, jade, ceramic and stone masterpieces. What can we learn from these ancient American Indian cultures, and now are they linked to Mexico and Central America today?

— **10. Art and Revolution**

From the heroic portraits of David to the agony of Picasso's *Guernica*; from Emile Zola to John Reed; from *Yankee Doodle* to *The East is Red*: the contribution of artists, writers and composers to the endless struggle against oppression.

— **11. The Postmodern Critique**

The humanities as we know them have entered a new era. Notable exponents of postmodernism are architects Michael Graves & Robert Venturi; writers Thomas Pynchon and Umberto Eco; choreographer Twyla Tharp; playwright Sam Sheppard.

— **12. Four Americans In Paris: The Stein Family, Collectors and Creators of a Movement**

Cezanne, Matisse, Leger, Picasso were discovered in the first decade of the 20th century. Art was viewed differently; a new relationship between artists and patrons began with the remarkable Oakland, California family of Gertrude Stein.

— **13. The Silk Road: From Byzantium through Persia, Samarkand to Xian**

Fifteen hundred years of active commerce in goods and ideas along what is now known as the Silk Road. By this route, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam and Marco Polo reached China, and Genghis Khan conquered much of Eurasia.

— **14. Peter the Great and the Europeanization of Russia**

The remarkable Peter the Great almost single-handedly turned Russia's face to the West. He created a capital out of a frozen swamp which came to be known as "Venice of the North."

— **15. The Bloomsbury Set**

Members of the Bloomsbury group were clever people who liked nothing better than to talk about themselves and about one another. Meet Virginia Woolf; Maynard Keynes, the economist who doubled as a connoisseur; Kenneth Clark, who in the 20s and 30s was the taste maker of choice in Britain. Toss in William Morris and Charles MacIntosh.

If you could limit your suggestions to one or two *other* topics, what would they be? Please specify era, if appropriate.

Please return this form as soon as possible to Humanities West, 211 Sutter Street, Suite 601, San Francisco, CA 94108.

Jerusalem in Jewish Spirituality

by JOSEPH DAN, excerpted from
The City of the Great King,
edited by NITZA ROISOVSKY

God's eternal residence. Jerusalem is the supreme expression of exile and destruction, of poverty and suffering, while it also represents eternal spiritual bliss.

The image of Jerusalem as a spiritual symbol appeals to all human faculties. It includes the intellectual craving for knowledge, truth, and wisdom; at the same time, it represents the consummation of justice and purity. And, most of all, it represents the touching point between the divine and the earthly, the place in which heaven and earth meet, and where a person can stretch his hand and touch the divine.

The very beginning of Jewish mysticism—and, possibly of mystical expression in any religion—is deeply connected, as recent studies demonstrate, with the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The earliest descriptions of a spiritual ascent to God, found in the Hekhalot mystical literature (third to seventh centuries), are among the most intense expressions in religious literature of the uplifting of the mystic's soul stage by stage until, overcoming difficulties and threats, it confronts the Throne of Glory and faces the King in His Glory in an ancient expression of numinous perfection.

The Jerusalem of these early mystics is both destroyed and alive, in ruins and in full splendor. This dual nature of Jerusalem was regarded as expressing the dual state of the human soul, residing in a body and in a world of matter, evil and exiled, yet at the same time a resident of utmost beauty and perfection in the divine city.



CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER, BY VON BREYDENBACK, 1483

Going Up to Jerusalem

by NITZA ROISOVSKY, excerpted from *City of the Great King*,
edited by NITZA ROISOVSKY, Harvard University Press

To this day hardly anyone arrives in Jerusalem, "a threshold to heaven," without some emotional baggage. In the nineteenth century, pilgrims and sinners alike—to borrow Mark Twain's designation—came full of preconceptions. Etched in travelers' minds were imaginary biblical landscapes, familiar since childhood.

In addition to expecting beautiful spots, visitors could not distance themselves from religion. Even Harriet Martineau, a prominent Englishwoman who wrote about social and economic issues and was skeptical of religious dogmas, admitted that her main interest in Palestine was its being "the abode of Jesus." About to enter the Holy Land in 1847, she and her companions discussed "the impressions of our childhood about the story of Jesus, and the emotions and passions that history had excited in us."

Disillusionment struck early on. Mark Twain quickly realized that he must "unlearn a great many things I have somehow absorbed concerning Palestine. I must begin a system of reduction...The word 'Palestine' always brought to my mind a vague suggestion of a country as large as the United States...I suppose it was because I could not conceive of a small country having so large a history." He found Jerusalem especially disappointing: "A fast walker could go outside the walls of Jerusalem in an hour. I do not know how else to make one understand how small it is."

Once inside the city walls, all Christians gravitated toward the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, shared—or rather fought over—by Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics (Latins), Armenians, Syrians, Abyssinians, and Copts. By and large, Catholics and Protestants reacted differently to the holy places. Catholics were accustomed to ornate churches, but most Protestants were shocked: "For eighteen centuries avid and pious Christians of divergent sects had overlaid the simplicity of

biblical scenes with tawdry symbolism, rude commercialism and pious hokum."

William Henry Bartlett, a well-known English painter and author whose *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem* (1844) and *Jerusalem Revisited* (1854) remain classic guides to the city, was more tolerant. Though disheartened by the church, he still thought "of the thousands who have made this spot the centre of their hopes...have endured danger, and toil, and fever and want, to kneel with bursting heart upon the sacred rock; then, as regards the history of humanity, we feel this is holy ground."

Benjamin Disraeli, the twenty-five year-old novelist and future statesman, went on a Grand Tour to shake off a lingering depression, as well as to escape his creditors and collect material for future novels. His one-week stay in Jerusalem, in January 1831, had a profound and positive effect on his writing and his politics. Despite his conversion, he remained proud of his Jewish heritage, and his visit to the Holy City reinforced his sense of pride and strengthened his self-esteem.

In *Contarini Fleming* (1832), he lovingly describes contemporary Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, his account markedly different from most others: "I beheld a city entirely surrounded by... an old feudal wall...In the front, was a magnificent mosque, with beautiful gardens, and many light and lofty gates of triumph; a variety of domes and towers rose in all directions from the buildings of bright stone. I was thunderstruck. I saw before me apparently a gorgeous city...Except Athens, I had never witnessed any scene more essentially impressive. I will not place this spectacle below the city of Minerva. Athens and the Holy City in their glory must have been the finest representations of the Beautiful and the Sublime."

TOWERING VISIONS: JERUSALEM THROUGH THE AGES

Saturday May 31 10:00–4:00 pm

Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness (at McAllister), San Francisco

Moderator: **THOMAS IDINOPULOS, Moderator.** Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Prof. Idinopulos is the author of *Jerusalem Blessed, Jerusalem Cursed: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy City from David's Time to our Own*.

10:00 am *Lecture* **SPACE AND HISTORY IN JERUSALEM** **OLEG GRABAR**, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

The renowned scholar of Islamic art and architecture explores the physical shape of the city as it was known around 1800. This illustrated lecture shows how Jerusalem is the product of a long series of events affecting the same hills (Zion, Golgotha, Moriah and Olives) but with different impacts.

11:10 am *Lecture* **JERUSALEM: THE CONTESTED INHERITANCE** **F. E. PETERS**, New York University

The sacredness with which the world's three great monotheistic religions hold Jerusalem is based not only on ideology but on the notion of sacred space. This shared tradition opens the possibility of discourse among the three, but when those traditions are converted into spatial terms, when ideas are translated into real estate, discourse has often yielded to conflict. Prof. Peters addresses the crucial issue of the place of Jerusalem in the piety—and the pious practices—of Jews, Christians and Muslims and how each group laid claim to, and defended, its own particular holy places.

Break for Lunch: 12:00–1:30 pm

1:30 pm *Performance* **GEORGES LAMMAM**, violin and vocalist; **TONY LAMMAM**, percussionist; **LAURIE EISLER**, tambourine and zither. A charming Levantine interlude by a local trio, consisting of two Lebanese-Americans and an Israeli-American.

2:00 pm *Lecture* **THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JERUSALEM THROUGH THE AGES** **WILLIAM G. DEVER**, University of Arizona

Jerusalem has been continuously occupied since about 2,000 B.C., with both a sacred and secular history that are unique in human experience. Professor Dever uses beautiful slides to illustrate and summarize what can be explained archaeologically about Jerusalem's history, concentrating primarily on the Canaanite Bronze Age; the Iron Age or Israelite period; the Greco-Roman era; Jerusalem in the period of Rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity; the Byzantine period; and the Muslim and Crusader periods.

3:00 pm *Lecture* **THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR JERUSALEM** **WILLIAM B. QUANDT**, University of Virginia

Since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, one of the most hotly contested issues between Israel and its Arab neighbors has been the status of Jerusalem. Since 1967, Israel has exercised sole control over the city and has declared it to be its national capital, but the Oslo agreements signed in September, 1993, also envisage that the status of Jerusalem will figure in negotiations on a final agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. Dr. Quandt, who as a member of the National Security Council was a negotiator involved in the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace treaty, examines the vital positions of various parties and discusses possible ways of accommodating competing claims.

Sunday, June 1, 1997 1:00 pm–4:00 pm

1:00 pm *Lecture* **MERCHANTS, MISSIONARIES AND MESSIAHS: JERUSALEM IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY** **RICHARD HECHT**, U.C. Santa Barbara

Religious, national, and political dreamers all had visions for Jerusalem, often in conflict with one another. In the 1920s it became a bastion for Zionists who rejected agrarian socialism in favor of the development of Jewish industry and capital. Likewise, Jerusalem became the center stage for the formation of Palestinian nationalism. Dr. Hecht, whose scholarship in religious studies has won him wide acclaim, uses captivating slides to take us through Jerusalem from the early 19th century to 1948.

1:45 pm *Lecture* **ARCHITECTURE OF MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM** **OLEG GRABAR**, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Professor Grabar concentrates on the Muslim buildings of the city: with striking photographs and models recreating the historic buildings, he reveals the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa Mosque, the Mamluk schools, among others; and shows how Roman and Early Christian presence was expressed visually in objects as well as in buildings.

2:30 pm *Closing Commentary* **THOMAS IDINOPULOS**, moderator

3:10 pm *Musical performance and readings* **JERUSALEM OF EARTH AND SKY** **ROSALYN BARAK**, Cantor, Congregation Emanu-El, San Francisco; **DANIEL C. MATT**, Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley; accompanied by **ARKADY SERPER**, pianist

Readings and music in a reflective mood, presenting the rabbinic, mystical, and folkloric views of—and feelings about—the City of David. Professor Matt's readings and Cantor Barak's beautiful voice weave the material together in an especially affectionate and fascinating tribute to this beloved and holy place.

Meet our stars at Stars Cafe during the Friends' Luncheon

Friends of Humanities West are cordially invited to join us there, on Saturday, May 31, between the morning and afternoon sessions of the program. Stars Cafe is on the corner of Van Ness and McAllister Streets, across the street from Herbst Theatre. Guests will have a chance to share a table and break bread with speakers and fellow Humanities West supporters.

Meet our fascinating lecturers at the Speakers' Dinner at Faz

Sponsors, Patrons and Fellows of Humanities West are invited to join our speakers for dinner on **Friday evening, May 30**, at Faz. This excellent restaurant, which is offering us a very interesting menu with four choices of entree, is located at 161 Sutter Street, with easy parking at the Sutter-Stockton Garage. As the Jerusalem program will be held on Saturday and Sunday, Friday evening's dinner affords an excellent opportunity to meet and enjoy a leisurely evening with a truly exceptional gathering of speakers. We will convene at the restaurant at 5:30 pm.

Free Pre-Program Illustrated Talk

Tuesday, May 6 — 6 pm

KORET AUDITORIUM IN THE NEW S.F. MAIN LIBRARY

You are invited to a free pre-program illustrated talk and discussion providing background for our Jerusalem program: *The Biblical History of Jerusalem* by Jehon Grist, of Lehrhaus Judaica in Berkeley.

Dr. Grist holds a PhD in Near Eastern Studies and a teaching credential from U.C. Berkeley. As a U.C. Berkeley Regents Fellow and Hebrew University graduate student, he did research in England, Egypt and Israel. His archaeological field work has taken him from the Valley of Queens in Egypt to Bezer on the road to Jerusalem. His articles and photographs have been published in *Biblical Archaeological Review* and the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

Seating is unreserved. This project is presented in cooperation with the San Francisco Public Library, and is made possible in part by a grant from the **California Council for the Humanities**, a state program of the **National Endowment for the Humanities**. For information call Humanities West, 415/391-9700.

Speakers' Dinner and Friends Luncheon Reservations Form for the Jerusalem program

- ☐ **Yes**, I am a Sponsor, Patron or Fellow of Humanities West and would like to attend the Speakers' Dinner.
Please reserve _____ place(s) in my name for dinner Friday night, May 30, at **FAZ**, 161 Sutter Street, at **5:30 pm**. Enclosed is my check, payable to Humanities West, for \$50 per person.
- ☐ **Yes**, I am a Friend of Humanities West and would like to attend the Friends Luncheon.
Please reserve _____ place(s) in my name for luncheon at **Stars Cafe** on Saturday, May 31. Enclosed is a check, payable to Humanities West, for \$35 per person.

A letter of confirmation will be sent approximately two weeks prior to the event.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

DAYTIME TELEPHONE _____

Please return this form to Humanities West, 211 Sutter Street, Suite 601, San Francisco, CA 94108. Telephone: 415/391-9700, Fax: 391-9708.

"Jerusalem" Priority Ticket Order Form

Please order your tickets as soon as possible. Donors will receive priority until **April 21, 1997**.

Please include a self-addressed, stamped envelope *and* mail to City Box Office *with your order*.

Tickets will be mailed approximately 4 weeks prior to the program.

Saturday, May 31, 1997, 10:00 am–4:00 pm. Herbst Theatre

Regular _____ @ \$20 = _____
Student _____ @ \$20 = _____

Sunday, June 1, 1997, 1:00 am–4:00 pm. Herbst Theatre

Regular _____ @ \$25 = _____
Student _____ @ \$20 = _____

Handling Charge \$1 per ticket _____

Total Enclosed: _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

DAYTIME TELEPHONE _____

Send this form and make checks payable to:

City Box Office
153 Kearny Street, Suite 402
San Francisco, CA 94108

For information, call City Box Office: 415/392-4400.

NOTE: Tickets are non-refundable. Luncheon is not included.

Medieval Jerusalem

Continued from page 2

cultural milieux than strictly Palestinian ones. A similarly vast comparative baggage together with considerable linguistic skills is required to learn, and understand the archaeological and visual data available for Jerusalem in unusually large and varied quantities.

What the lecture will show can be summed up in the following manner. An artificial Roman imperial space over ragged hills and valleys contained a rich trove of holy memories associated with the real and mythic history of Jews and of the first Christians, as well as with pious practices like pilgrimage or the deeper expectation of existence beyond time. Between 350 and 700 these memories (or most of them) found a space, and spaces required holiness, a Christian holiness first and then a Muslim one.

Over the centuries, memories changed location and even confessional allegiance—Abraham in particular, but also Jesus, Adam, and David—and spaces changed their holy names. But, sooner or later, sometimes as late as in the nineteenth century, holy memories were still finding a space in Jerusalem and its surroundings and at times underdeveloped stones were suddenly given a meaning from the rich source of the Scriptures to please a wealthy visitor. At the same time large or small scale pilgrimage continued regardless of religious affiliation, and the expectation of the end of time and beginning of eternity drew people, living or deceased, to the city as late as half a century ago. They still do so today.

The further uniqueness of Jerusalem was that most of its memories were Jewish, but that these Jewish memories

became Christian, and Christian and Jewish memories became Muslim. Alone of all the holy cities of the world, the space of Jerusalem could accommodate all these pious expressions in every one of their confessional garbs. This was so in part because it is the same God who appeared differently to Jews, Christians and Muslims. It is also so because Islam, which dominated the city during most of the Middle Ages, acknowledged and formalized the rights and beliefs of those who remained in the fold of older traditions. It was, finally, so because the Roman empire freed the memories of the city from the places they had occupied and also freed the city from being a political capital.

During 1800 years or so, Jerusalem was an administrative and political *sous-prefecture* for all but one unsuccessful century. This, I submit, allowed for another set of values than those of power—values of belief and piety—to define the purpose of the city. Yet, in a striking paradox, it is political and ideological power that, under Constantine, Justinian, Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, al-Ma'mun, al-Hakim, and al-Zahir, created the monuments of the city which shaped the way we perceive it. And, as further paradox, it is the Dome of the Rock, the one building whose exact original function is still something of a mystery, that dominated the city in the past. In it the brilliant manipulation of space and of decoration restricted the certainty of holiness, but the esthetic quality given to the holiness has made the space sacred.

Today that Old Roman City is a small part in a large metropolis with different expectations and different agendas. Whether the holiness of its spaces is still meaningful in other terms than those of contemporary architecture needed for international tourism and worldly taste will not be known for a while.



Humanities West
211 Sutter Street, Suite 601
San Francisco, CA 94108



Elaine Thornburgh
580 Funston
San Francisco, CA 94118